

# CULTURAL ENCOUNTER: THE IMPACT OF KOREAN PROTESTANTISM ON THE OTHER RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

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## I Korean Christian History and the Theory of Emplantation

Beginning more than two hundred years ago, the cultural encounter between Christianity and Korea has resulted in the creation of a Christian community which accounts for some twenty per-cent of the national population of the Republic of Korea. In particular, since the advent of Protestant Christianity in Korea there has been substantial Christian impact on or involvement with education, medicine, social policy in all its aspects, and political affairs. Missionary and local Christian involvement in the creation of schools, hospitals, the independence movement, the movement for democracy, fair treatment for workers, equality for women and other important social and political issues are well known and have been discussed from various angles by many people. During the past century, Christian involvement in contemporary affairs attests to the dynamism and vigour of Christianity as a newly emerged element of Korean society. Protestant Christianity, in particular, for various cultural, social and political reasons was able to establish itself rapidly in Korean culture from the end of the nineteenth century and from that position of establishment engage influentially in contemporary affairs. One aspect of this engagement with and influence on Korean culture during the past hundred years, however, has been neglected, namely the impact which Protestant Christianity has had on the other religious traditions of Korea, including Roman Catholicism. In this paper, I propose to examine the ways in which Protestantism has had a formal or informal influence on the other religious traditions of Korea by viewing the historical development of Christianity as an anthropological process which I call emplantation.

In examining the history of religion in China and Korea, and looking at the question of the transmission of foreign religious traditions in particular, I developed a theoretical framework to describe this process of religious diffusion. I determined that a religion which derived from an alien cultural context when transmitted to a new cultural context had to undergo a three stage process of development before it could be said to have become emplanted in the cultural soil of the new culture. These stages were Contact and Explication, Penetration, and Expansion. Success at a prior stage was important for further development in a later stage. In the first stage, exponents of the new religion, formal or informal missionaries, are principally concerned with the primary explication of the tenets of their faith in terms which are comprehensible in the cultural norms of the time. In the second stage, it is recognised that the new religion has become established, at however small a numerical level, as a feature of the host culture and society. In the third stage, the new religion has become a major feature of the culture and society and enters into a stage of contention with other religious traditions which may lead either to a state of pre-eminence over the other traditions or a state of complementary

equilibrium. The model, however, makes no attempt to predict what the whole life of the new religion may be within the greater cultural history of the society, but only states that any new religious tradition coming from outside the indigenous cultural context must pass successfully through these three stages to become implanted in the cultural soil of the society, to achieve a state of pre-eminence or equilibrium. My research on Protestant church history showed that Protestantism had achieved a state of penetration in Korean culture by the middle of the twentieth century, and has now entered into a stage of growth and contention with the other religious traditions. In this paper, I argue that both in its early and its later stages of development in this century, Protestant Christianity has proved to be the most dynamic religious force within modern Korean religious culture and has had a significant impact, formally and informally on the growth and development of the other religious traditions.

The influence which Protestantism has exercised on the other religious traditions of Korea are three-fold - by competitive stimulation, by emulation and modelling, and by the acceptance of or utilisation of distinctly Christian religious concepts. By competitive stimulation, I refer to the rapid numerical growth of Protestant Christianity acting as a stimulus to other religious groups to create proselytisation movements to significantly increase the size of their membership. By emulation and modelling, I refer to the reaction by leaders and significant figures in non-Protestant Christian religious groups taking the forms of Protestant worship, activities, and evangelistic movements as models for their own religious practice and proselytisation. The third form of Protestant influence on the other religious traditions of Korea refers to the extent to which particularly Christian or indeed Protestant theological concepts have been adopted by other religious groups. This influence may have been absorbed at a purely formal, and superficial level, or at a deep, inner level restructuring or reformulating beliefs. Although all three of these forms of religious influence may be shown to have affected the non-Protestant religious traditions, not all of these traditions have been influenced by Protestantism in all three ways.

## II. Protestant Christian Impact on Roman Catholicism

As is well known, the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea is considerably longer than Protestant history, and was characterised for nearly half of its time by severe governmental repression of the movement as a socially and politically subversive body. The length and severity of the suppression of the Church had two inter-related effects. Firstly, beginning with the first major suppression of the Church in 1800, the character of the Church changed from being principally the religious practice of certain members of the elite sector of society to being a religious movement amongst the poorest and most rejected members of late Choson society. Secondly, the severity and length of the period of the formal suppression of the Church created a 'ghetto' mentality amongst the membership, a deeply ingrained sense of the need to hide or cover up their adherence to the proscribed religion. Consequently, many early Catholics physically hid themselves by fleeing to remote mountainous parts of the peninsula, or hid themselves by disguising their true class status and religious beliefs by becoming a member of one of the despised orders of society.

The first seventy-five years of Catholic history, dominated by persecution and the fear of persecution, had a long term influence on the development of the Church which lasted well into the middle of the twentieth century. Although, the Roman Catholic Church in Korea, once freed of the fear of governmental suppression did conduct an active campaign of missions and evangelism, significant numerical growth did not take place until the late 1950s and the early 1960s. From the 1890s onwards, records show both a steady increase in the membership of or

adherency to the Church, and the absence of any significant periods of decline in membership. Notwithstanding these continued increases in adherency, the per-centage representation within the national population remain consistent from 1914 to the late 1950s at 0.5 to 0.6 per-cent. This contrasts with Protestant figures during the same period which, while giving evidence to at least two periods of significant disaffection, also show that Protestantism more than tripled its per-centage representation within the national population from 1.2 per-cent to 3.7 per-cent. By the end of the next decade, this figure had nearly doubled to 6.0 per-cent. To use my anthropological terms of analysis, the Protestant churches in Koera had achieved a position of penetration within Korean culture and society some time in the early 1950s from which point onward the very significant period of per-centage growth within the national population began which lasted well into the 1980s. It was during this period of remarkable Protestant growth that the Roman Catholic Church for the first time began to show both numerical and per-centage growth. These two facts are closely related in my view.

One factor which I believe hindered the per-centage growth of the Roman Catholic Church was what I have referred to as a 'ghetto' mentality. A strong and long-lasting negative effect of the three-quarters of a century of persecution was the dampening of evangelistic efforts. For some time, there remained a psychological fear of or hesitancy towards open expression of adherency to Catholic Christianity and a strong reticence to widely share the 'Good News'. Although a decision ultimately taken in the Vatican, one reason for the acquiescence by the leadership in the acceptance of Shinto rituals during the colonial period as non-religious rites was the fear of the onset of another era of persecution. Principally because of this ethos within the Catholic community, gains in membership were not significant enough to become gains in the total representation in the national population.

By the 1960s, three factors came together which collectively created within the Catholic community a fervour for evangelism which has continued down to today. In fact, recent statistics show that the Roman Catholic Church in Korea is the only Korean Christian denomination which is continuing to make per-centage gains within the national population. The three factors are 1) the visibility and acceptability of Protestant Christianity, 2) the effect of the teachings of the Second Vatican Council, and 3) the onset of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation. The significantly increased size of the Protestant Christian community in the 1950s, Protestantism's clear relationship to many patriotic issues, and the dominance of the political scene by Protestant Christians (however one evaluates their character and the effect of their work) made Christianity not only distinctly visible in the nation, but acceptable in a very positive sense. This factor must have given many Catholics the sense that it was alright to be Christian, and to want to express and share their faith. At the same time, that the idea was being accepted, the Second Vatican Council dramatically changed the Tridentine Catholic view of the world, especially the Church's view of other Christian denominations and other religions. The views of the Second Council led to a greater ecumenicity and a desire to be involved together with other Christian groups. These two events came together to create an ethos which made significant national evangelism an acceptable and desirable goal. Concurrently, the nation began its race to become one of the major industrial states of the world, changing the nation from an essentially rural to an urban, from an agricultural to an industrial nation. This meant massive dislocation of the population from a rural to an urban setting, and impoverishment of large parts of the population. The dispossessed urban proletariat provided a major field for national evangelism for the Roman Catholic Church as it did also for the Protestant churches. I would only point out in passing that to the shame of many of the Protestant churches, the Catholic Church has never lost the memory of its origins amongst the dispossessed members of

society and has made evangelism and ministry amongst the poor a primary focus of the work of the Church.

From my anthropological perspective, the influence of Protestantism on Catholicism has been principally at the level of competitive stimulation, the sense that if members of one branch of Christianity could openly and vigorously work to expand their membership, Catholics could too. One might also argue that developments in style of worship - instrumental and vocal music, alternatives to the traditional emphasis on the Mass, approaches to evangelism - owe more to Protestant models than Catholic origins. None the less, the principal Protestant influence on Roman Catholicism in my view has been stimulus through example, which in turn has led to the significant and ongoing growth of the Church.

### III. Protestant Christian Impact on Buddhism

Buddhism, established in the Korean peninsula since the era of the Three Kingdoms, had by the end of the Choson period begun to atrophy. This was due largely to the general policy for the suppression and control of Buddhism which had been implemented from the beginning of the dynasty in order to eliminate heterodox teachings and to create a thoroughly Confucian state and society. At several points during the long history of the Choson state, suppression of Buddhism was replaced by fervent attempts to eradicate it entirely. The effect of five hundred years of an anti-Buddhist policy was the general degradation in the standards of monastic discipline and the knowledge of Buddhist teachings, and the effective elimination of intellectual leadership from within the Buddhist community. Whereas under the Koryo period the leadership of the Buddhist community came from the elite sector of society, in the Choson period Buddhist monks were grouped together with butchers and prostitutes in the 'untouchable' class. Sympathetic foreign observers of Korean Buddhism at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries felt that its situation was so dire that it would disappear at some point in the not too distant future. This in fact has not happened. The most recent census statistics for Korea show that 30 or more per-cent of the population claims adherence to one of the branches of Buddhism. Anyone who is familiar with Buddhism in Japan and Korea, who has visited their temples and monasteries, will be familiar with the fact that Korean Buddhism, traditional monastic Buddhism, is more vigorous and active than its Japanese counterpart. What factors are to account for this *volte face* in the condition of Buddhism in Korea? Although the dramatic and rapid growth of Christianity in Korea has become the subject of much academic and popular discourse, the reversal in the fortunes of Korean Buddhism has gone practically unobserved by the academic world.

In examining the recent century of Buddhism in Korea, I have discerned three principal factors which have been at work - 1) assistance from the Japanese colonial government the Government-General of Chosen, 2) a reform movement for the revival of monastic Buddhism, and 3) the development and growth of lay Buddhism and lay Buddhist movements. The Japanese colonial regime was clearly worried about the numbers of Protestant Christians involved in patriotic and nationalistic movements and by the continued growth of the Protestant Christian community. It became a policy of the colonial government to promote Buddhism as a countervailing force to the growth of Protestantism and Christianity in general. Various measures were undertaken including the institutional reorganisation of the Buddhist 'church' to regularise and standardise bureaucratic procedures. Aside from the proclaimed purpose of cleansing organised Buddhism, these institutional reforms had the two-fold effect of making it easier for the regime to control the Buddhist community, and to make it comparable to Buddhism in Japan, thus creating greater homogeneity throughout the empire. To ensure that

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the Buddhist 'church' had financial and capital security vis-a-vis Protestant Christianity, the colonial government gave large tracts of lands to the monasteries, ensuring that these communities remained wealthy down to the present day. These two factors alone, institutional re-organisation and the donation of significant tracts of land, regenerated institutional Buddhism so that it was able to reclaim a physical state which it had not possessed possibly since the fifteenth century. Japanese colonial support of Buddhism was not only at the institutional or organisational level. Many of the Buddhist movements and institutions which were prominent in the push for the 'modernisation' of the religion had the overt or covert financial support of the colonial regime. For example, many of the Buddhist magazines and journals of that era, including those associated with the nationalistic and modernising monk Manhae, were funded by the Japanese colonial government.

The factor of the support of the colonial government alone would not, and can not, explain the sustained revival of Buddhism in Korea. The revival of Buddhism is the result principally of two factors internal to Korean Buddhism, the revival of orthodox monastic Buddhism, and the appearance of lay movements. The purification and revival of monastic discipline, practice and the intellectual study of the Buddhist doctrines can be attributed to the efforts of Kyongho. Although one can talk at great length about what he did to revive Buddhist monastic life, and however important monastic life is to an understanding of traditional Buddhism, the revival of Buddhism in Korea I feel is principally due to the emergence of lay movements beginning from the second decade of this century. The influence of Protestant Christianity is to be found here particularly. One of the major differences between the Protestant and Roman Catholic forms of Christianity is the emphasis which is placed on the work of the laity in administering the churches and carrying out the ministry of the Church. Protestant churches are essentially lay-run institutions. However important the ministers are in the scheme of things, deacons, elders, wardens, stewards - whatever the lay leadership is called - play an essential role in the life and ministry of the church. In addition, para-church institutions, related or unrelated to individual denominations, such as the Young Men's Christian Association have grown up to provide both Christian fellowship and to act as a means for evangelism. It was the idea of the 'laity' which seems to have most inspired the Korean Buddhists in the early part of this century. From the second decade onwards, the history of Buddhism in Korea is filled with the creation of various Buddhist youth movements and lay groups, and holding of Buddhist lay conferences. These developments testify to the emergence of an organised lay Buddhist community which existed separately from the monastic communities which used to be the centres of Buddhist practice and life. As lay Christianity had meant that the focus of Christian life was in contemporary society, so too lay Buddhism meant that the focus of Buddhist life was taken out of the confines of the monastery and into contemporary society. With the stabilisation and regularisation of institutional monastic Buddhism, early twentieth century Korean Buddhists must have sensed an element of competition with the rapidly developing new religion, Protestant Christianity. This sense of competition would have been a stimulus which caused them to consciously or unconsciously model their programme for the advance of Buddhism along the lines of the two most distinctive features of Protestant Christianity, the idea of the 'laity' and lay movements.

The extent to which monastic and lay Buddhism has been influenced by Protestantism is quite striking. The development of the laity as the principal bearers of Buddhism, is an obvious example, but specific examples of influence on religious practice can also be described. The use of hymns with tunes borrowed from Protestantism, prayers used in daily life (before meals) which are common Christian practice may be cited along with youth and high school student associations meeting under the tutelage of a monk at a time on a Saturday afternoon which was

precisely the time for local Christian youth meetings. Protestant Christian models continue to provide a source of inspiration for the Buddhist leadership, perhaps the most notable of which was the creation of the Buddhist Broadcasting System set up in the early 1990s along the lines of the Christian Broadcasting System. Thus, not only was the movement for a 'modernised' Buddhism stimulated by the presence of a strong laity and vigorous lay movements within Protestant Christianity, many of the very forms of 'modernised' Buddhist spiritual practice and Buddhist evangelism can also be shown to have been derived from or modelled on Protestant Christian practice.

#### IV. Protestant Christian Impact on the New Religions

The first modern syncretistic religion in Korea is Ch'ondo-gyo, which was founded in the 1860s as the result of a vision which the founder Ch'oi Che-u had of the Ruler of Heaven. It emerged as an important nationalistic and nativistic movement before the collapse of the Choson state and during the Japanese colonial period. Originally called Tonghak, from its inception the religion contained certain elements of belief and practice which were a response to or a borrowing from Christianity. It is not surprising that nativistic types of syncretistic movements should emerge promising a revival in national fortunes at a time of national crisis. Internal corruption and the threat of invasion by foreign powers made nineteenth century Korea a fertile ground for nativistic movements. For the intelligentsia of the time, among whom Ch'oi Che-u has to be counted, growth of the proscribed religion Roman Catholicism must have been seen to be an aspect of foreign imperial power and a threat to the Confucian traditions of the nation. When Ch'oi was brought before a magistrate to explain his, by Confucian standards, heterodox teaching, he defended himself by saying that what he taught was not *sohak* (Western learning = Roman Catholicism) but *tonghak* (eastern learning). So from the beginning of the modern era, new religious movements in Korea were consciously or unconsciously comparing and contrasting themselves with the emergent Christian movement. Even at this early stage of the development of Christianity, a certain element of borrowing by Tonghak from Christianity can be demonstrated. Although the great being who revealed himself to Ch'oi Che-u was usually called Sangje (Shang-ti, Ruler on High), a usage deriving from ancient China, this being was sometimes called Ch'onju or Ruler of Heaven, the Roman Catholic term for God in China and Korea. Although not a major influence on the doctrinal teaching of the sect, the adoption of this term shows that the influence of Christianity on Tonghak in its early stages was not just negative stimulation.

The effect of Protestantism on Tonghak/Ch'ondo-gyo was even greater, and can be shown both on the architecture of the sect, and on its religious practice. In *Chosen-no ruiji-shukyo* [The Pseudo-religions of Korea], the survey of popular religion in Korea published by the Government-General in 1935, the architecture of the Ch'ondo-gyo places of worship shows a strong similarity to Protestant Christian churches of the same period. The central ecclesiastical building of Ch'ondo-gyo, although built in a Japanised version of Baroque architecture for decoration, resembles a Protestant church in both its architectural elevations and in its interior layout. The plan for the main room in the central hall in particular is laid out like a Korean Protestant church including a large raised and recessed area at the back where the principal celebrant or ceremonial leader would conduct the ritual. The atmosphere of the building is similar to many Korean Protestant churches of the time. The ritual centre in Pyongyang in northern Korea is even more clearly modelled on Protestant lines. The exterior of the building with its sharp rectangular shape is indistinguishable from any provincial Protestant church of the time. The picture of the interior showing the congregation seated on the floor also

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demonstrates another feature which must be a relic of missionary influence - the leaders of the ritual are seated on Western-style chairs and speak from a podium. This usage of ritual space is identical to a Protestant usage which began with the way churches such as Chong-dong First Methodist Church in Seoul were used from the time of the first missionaries - the congregation sat cross-legged on the floor, the celebrants sat in chairs. Further Christian, if not Protestant, influence can be seen on the architectural form of the central 'church' of a break-off of the Ch'ondo-gyo movement, the Sich'on-gyo sect, which is closely modelled on the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Myong-dong, Seoul.

Ch'ondo-gyo ritual usage follows a Christian, and particularly a Protestant-Christian, pattern. Services are now held on a Sunday, use hymns quite often set to music drawn from Protestant hymnals, have periods of private prayer, and include an exposition of the Ch'ondo-gyo scripture, the Tonggyong taejon. As is obvious from the list of ritual features given above, Ch'ondo-gyo possesses both a canonical scripture and a book of hymns which is used for the purposes of worship and study. The architecture of the sect's ritual buildings, the form of its rituals, and the form of its ritual materials by the first third of the twentieth century followed a Protestant pattern. Thus, the influence of Protestantism on Ch'ondo-gyo and other new religions was as a model or a pattern for practice, and this in spite of the fact that many of these groups, and in particular Ch'ondo-gyo, possessed a highly nationalistic and nativistic system of beliefs.

This influence on the formal, overt aspects of the new religions of Korea does not seem to have been translated into significant influence on the doctrines, teachings, and beliefs of these new sects. Chungsan-gyo, which developed at the very end of the last century, is an amalgam of many different religious traditions and is markedly different in one respect from many of the new religious movements of the past century. Unlike most of the new religions in which the founder claims to have had a vision or experience with a celestial being, the founder of Chungsan-gyo, Kang Ilsum, claimed to be the Ruler of the Nine Heavens, the supreme being. This concept parallels the essential Christian teaching of the Incarnation of Christ, and may reflect either Catholic or Protestant teaching on the subject. The idea of incarnation propounded in Chungsan-gyo is linked to a messianic idea that Kang had descended to earth to restore the affairs of the world, and to restore Korea to its rightful position in the world. Although this doctrinal element is probably derived from Christianity, it is not described in Christian theological terms, but is expressed in nativistic terms. Thus, in the early stages of the growth of these new religions, influence was at the level of the adoption of formal elements without taking on the major theological views of Christianity.

By mid-twentieth century, Protestant Christianity had become an even more potent religious force within Korean society. The Chosen-no riuji shukyo divides the new religions of the first third of the twentieth century into six types - the Tonghak tradition, the Chungsan tradition, the Buddhist tradition, the Confucian tradition, traditions worshipping a particular spirit, and a miscellaneous group. In the 1930s, there were no new religious movements which claimed to be a Christian denomination or which had a significant number of beliefs which were closely patterned after Protestant Christianity. By the 1950s, this situation had changed dramatically. The new religions which emerged or became strong after Korean liberation from Japanese rule were Christian new religions. In fact these groups so closely resemble orthodox Christian groups that in theological terms they must be called heresies. Typical among these many groups are the Chondo-gwan Church (Olive Tree Church) and the Unification Church. The founders of both of these groups had at one time been members of a Presbyterian church, and so had a Protestant Christian background. The founder of the Chondo-gwan (evangelistic hall)

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movement, Pak Taeson, had been an elder in a Presbyterian church in Seoul, and claimed that his hands had the power to heal through the massaging of a diseased person. The movement claims to be a Christian church, and its buildings resemble Protestant churches which are easily distinguished because of the large red crosses used to adorn the tower over the entrance to the building. The form of worship, the terms used to talk about their beliefs, and the beliefs themselves are all Christian. Although it does seem to have a strong basis in folk religion, with an emphasis on a belief in magical healing, all of the formal structures of the group are modelled on Christian practices. This is an important change from earlier in the century when only certain aspects of a new religion could be shown to have a Christian origin. Now, whole religious movements resemble a Christian denomination.

This aspect of similarity to a Christian denomination becomes even stronger when we examine the Unification Church. It not only claims to be a church, it claims to be the fulfillment of Christ's ministry on earth. The full name of the sect is the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, which indicates that the sect claims to be the means by which the unfinished work of Christianity will be brought to completion. The central teaching of the sect is that Christ was unable to fulfill his ministry on earth, the spiritual and physical salvation of mankind. Instead, his early death only provided spiritual salvation. Another One would have to come to bring physical salvation, who is called the Lord of the Second Advent. This group not only claims to be a Christian denomination; it claims to be the true fulfillment of all Christian groups.

Here, the only difference between orthodox Christian churches and these Christian-based syncretic groups is in the Christology of the sects. Otherwise, it is not immediately apparent that one of these sects is not a church. In more recent years other new religious groups have emerged which are usually Christian in nature. In the early 1990s, for example, there was a group whose leader had proclaimed the end of the world on a particular date and who urged all his followers to gather together. He collected large sums of money and was arrested when he attempted to leave Korea. Other than the fact that groups such as this have been created in Korea, they are in no wise different from similar types of groups which have emerged during the same period in North America. Thus, by the end of the twentieth century, the influence of Protestant Christianity on the creation of new religions was not simply at the level of stimulus or model, but was actually providing substantial elements of the theology of these sects. This influence at the level of belief demonstrates both that Protestantism had become fully implanted in the soil of the culture of Korea, and that it was the principal dynamic force in the religious culture of Korea by the end of the century.

#### V. Protestant Christian Contention with the Other Traditions

It has been my view that Protestantism during the first two-thirds of this century has been the most dynamic force within the religious culture of Korea which is evidenced both by the rapid numerical growth in church membership, and - which is the focus of this paper - by the extent to which Protestant Christianity has influenced the development of the pre-existent religious traditions of the nation. This influence may have been at the level of competitive stimulation to cause the other tradition to grow or revive as was the case with Roman Catholicism and Buddhism, or at the level of providing a model for outreach and religious practice as was the case with Buddhism and Ch'ondo-gyo, or at the level of providing religious concepts as is the case with the contemporary new religions. From the beginning of the process of the implantation of Protestant Christianity, the influence of Protestantism on Korean religious culture has been noticeable and has increased towards the end of the century. To return to the



model of the emplantation of missionary religions which I outlined at the beginning of this paper, Protestantism had 'penetrated' Korean culture by the middle of this century and has now entered into the third phase of the process of emplantation - contention with the other religious traditions. Buddhism, in my view, is the principal religious tradition with which Protestantism will be in contention. This is so because largely there has been an ecumenical rapprochement with Roman Catholicism (except for the most fundamentalist of the Protestant bodies), and because the new religions tend to follow Protestant practice. Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, there has been a noticeable increase in the tensions between 'Protestantism' and 'Buddhism'. There have been several accusations of 'Christian' (= Protestant ?) harassment of Buddhist ceremonies and the destruction of Buddhist religious buildings. Whatever the truth of these accusations is, they point to the fact of the increased tensions between 'Christianity' as a perceived monolithic religious institution, and 'Buddhism' as a similar monolithic entity. Further examples of the perceived competition between these two groups may be seen in 1) the extent to which the principal Buddhist order, the Chogye-jong, and other groups have engaged in extensive programmes of local 'evangelism', and have conducted well-planned programmes of overseas missions to spread the teachings of Buddhism in both North America and Europe, and 2) the creation of such institutions as the Buddhist Broadcasting System both to increase Buddhist knowledge amongst the laity and as a means to extend the membership of the Buddhist community. Based upon historical precedent, the model for emplantation would predict that there are three possible outcomes in this process of contention - 1) the significant extension of the membership of Protestant groups so that Protestantism achieves a state of numerical and spiritual dominance over the religious culture of the nation, or 2) that Protestantism and Buddhism will both reach the greatest extent of their numerical expansion and achieve a state of numerical and spiritual equilibrium between themselves, or 3) that Protestantism will lose its evangelical momentum and begin a period of numerical (if not spiritual) decline which will result in it stabilising at a position of subordination to Buddhism. This third condition would be a strong indicator that Protestantism had lost its momentum and was no longer the most dynamic religious factor in Korean culture. It is hard to judge what the ultimate historical outcome will be, but it is worth noting that Buddhism is vigorously pursuing a policy similar to 'church growth', and that since the late 1980s, Protestantism has ceased to grow in percentage terms within the national population. This may be an indication that Protestantism has reached the upper limit of its growth potential. On the other hand, Roman Catholicism continues to grow, which may mean that although in this era, Protestantism has ceased to grow, Christianity has not. What lies ahead in the future is unclear and can only be discerned after the next decade. As was mentioned at the outset, the model of emplantation can not predict the future but only help to explain why certain historical developments occurred in the way in which they did.



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Beginning more than two hundred years ago, the cultural encounter between Christianity and Korea has resulted in the creation of a Christian community which accounts for some twenty per-cent of the national population of the Republic of Korea. In particular, since the advent of Protestant Christianity in Korea there has been substantial Christian impact on or involvement with education, medicine, social policy in all its aspects, and political affairs. Missionary and local Christian involvement in the creation of schools, hospitals, the independence movement, the movement for democracy, fair treatment for workers, equality for women and other important social and political issues are well known and have been discussed from various angles by many people. During the past century, Christian involvement in contemporary affairs attests to the dynamism and vigour of Christianity as a newly emerged element of Korean society. Protestant Christianity, in particular, for various cultural, social and political reasons was able to establish itself rapidly in Korean culture from the end of the nineteenth century and from that position of establishment engage influentially in contemporary affairs. One aspect of this engagement with and influence on Korean culture during the past hundred years, however, has been neglected, namely the impact which Protestant Christianity has had on the other religious traditions of Korea, including Roman Catholicism. In this paper, I propose to examine the ways in which Protestantism has had a formal or informal influence on the other religious traditions of Korea by viewing the historical development of Christianity as an anthropological process which I call emplantation.

In examining the history of religion in China and Korea, and looking at the question of the transmission of foreign religious traditions in particular, I developed a theoretical framework to describe this process of religious diffusion. I determined that a religion which derived from an alien cultural context when transmitted to a new cultural context had to undergo a three stage process of development before it could be said to have become emplanted in the cultural soil of the new culture. These stages were Contact and Explication, Penetration, and Expansion. Success at a prior stage was important for further development in a later stage. In the first stage, exponents of the new religion, formal or informal missionaries, are principally concerned with the primary explication of the tenets of their faith in terms which are comprehensible in the cultural norms of the time. In the second stage, it is recognised that the new religion has become established, at however small a numerical level, as a feature of the host culture and society. In the third stage, the new religion has become a major feature of the culture and society and enters into a stage of contention with other religious traditions which may lead either to a state of pre-eminence over the other traditions or a state of complementary

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## II. Protestant Christian Impact on Roman Catholicism

As is well known, the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea is considerably longer than Protestant history, and was characterised for nearly half of its time by severe governmental repression of the movement as a socially and politically subversive body. The length and severity of the suppression of the Church had two inter-related effects. Firstly, beginning with the first major suppression of the Church in 1800, the character of the Church changed from being principally the religious practice of certain members of the elite sector of society to being a religious movement amongst the poorest and most rejected members of late Choson society. Secondly, the severity and length of the period of the formal suppression of the Church created a 'ghetto' mentality amongst the membership, a deeply ingrained sense of the need to hide or cover up their adherence to the proscribed religion. Consequently, many early Catholics physically hid themselves by fleeing to remote mountainous parts of the peninsula, or hid themselves by disguising their true class status and religious beliefs by becoming a member of one of the despised orders of society.

The first seventy-five years of Catholic history, dominated by persecution and the fear of persecution, had a long term influence on the development of the Church which lasted well into the middle of the twentieth century. Although, the Roman Catholic Church in Korea, once freed of the fear of governmental suppression did conduct an active campaign of missions and evangelism, significant numerical growth did not take place until the late 1950s and the early 1960s. From the 1890s onwards, records show both a steady increase in the membership of or

adherency to the Church, and the absence of any significant periods of decline in membership. Notwithstanding these continued increases in adherency, the per-centage representation within the national population remain consistent from 1914 to the late 1950s at 0.5 to 0.6 per-cent. This contrasts with Protestant figures during the same period which, while giving evidence to at least two periods of significant disaffection, also show that Protestantism more than tripled its per-centage representation within the national population from 1.2 per-cent to 3.7 per-cent. By the end of the next decade, this figure had nearly doubled to 6.0 per-cent. To use my anthropological terms of analysis, the Protestant churches in Koera had achieved a position of penetration within Korean culture and society some time in the early 1950s from which point onward the very significant period of per-centage growth within the national population began which lasted well into the 1980s. It was during this period of remarkable Protestant growth that the Roman Catholic Church for the first time began to show both numerical and per-centage growth. These two facts are closely related in my view.

One factor which I believe hindered the per-centage growth of the Roman Catholic Church was what I have referred to as a 'ghetto' mentality. A strong and long-lasting negative effect of the three-quarters of a century of persecution was the dampening of evangelistic efforts. For some time, there remained a psychological fear of or hesitancy towards open expression of adherency to Catholic Christianity and a strong reticence to widely share the 'Good News'. Although a decision ultimately taken in the Vatican, one reason for the acquiescence by the leadership in the acceptance of Shinto rituals during the colonial period as non-religious rites was the fear of the onset of another era of persecution. Principally because of this ethos within the Catholic community, gains in membership were not significant enough to become gains in the total representation in the national population.

By the 1960s, three factors came together which collectively created within the Catholic community a fervour for evangelism which has continued down to today. In fact, recent statistics show that the Roman Catholic Church in Korea is the only Korean Christian denomination which is continuing to make per-centage gains within the national population. The three factors are 1) the visibility and acceptability of Protestant Christianity, 2) the effect of the teachings of the Second Vatican Council, and 3) the onset of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation. The significantly increased size of the Protestant Christian community in the 1950s, Protestantism's clear relationship to many patriotic issues, and the dominance of the political scene by Protestant Christians (however one evaluates their character and the effect of their work) made Christianity not only distinctly visible in the nation, but acceptable in a very positive sense. This factor must have given many Catholics the sense that it was alright to be Christian, and to want to express and share their faith. At the same time that this idea was being accepted, the Second Vatican Council dramatically changed the Tridentine Catholic view of the world, especially the Church's view of other Christian denominations and other religions. The views of the Second Council led to a greater ecumenicity and a desire to be involved together with other Christian groups. These two events came together to create an ethos which made significant national evangelism an acceptable and desirable goal. Concurrently, the nation began its race to become one of the major industrial states of the world, changing the nation from an essentially rural to an urban, from an agricultural to an industrial nation. This meant massive dislocation of the population from a rural to an urban setting, and impoverishment of large parts of the population. The dispossessed urban proletariat provided a major field for national evangelism for the Roman Catholic Church as it did also for the Protestant churches. I would only point out in passing that to the shame of many of the Protestant churches, the Catholic Church has never lost the memory of its origins amongst the dispossessed members of

society and has made evangelism and ministry amongst the poor a primary focus of the work of the Church.

From my anthropological perspective, the influence of Protestantism on Catholicism has been principally at the level of competitive stimulation, the sense that if members of one branch of Christianity could openly and vigorously work to expand their membership, Catholics could too. One might also argue that developments in style of worship - instrumental and vocal music, alternatives to the traditional emphasis on the Mass, approaches to evangelism - owe more to Protestant models than Catholic origins. None the less, the principal Protestant influence on Roman Catholicism in my view has been stimulus through example, which in turn has led to the significant and ongoing growth of the Church.

### III. Protestant Christian Impact on Buddhism

Buddhism, established in the Korean peninsula since the era of the Three Kingdoms, had by the end of the Choson period begun to atrophy. This was due largely to the general policy for the suppression and control of Buddhism which had been implemented from the beginning of the dynasty in order to eliminate heterodox teachings and to create a thoroughly Confucian state and society. At several points during the long history of the Choson state, suppression of Buddhism was replaced by fervent attempts to eradicate it entirely. The effect of five hundred years of an anti-Buddhist policy was the general degradation in the standards of monastic discipline and the knowledge of Buddhist teachings, and the effective elimination of intellectual leadership from within the Buddhist community. Whereas under the Koryo period the leadership of the Buddhist community came from the elite sector of society, in the Choson period Buddhist monks were grouped together with butchers and prostitutes in the 'untouchable' class. Sympathetic foreign observers of Korean Buddhism at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries felt that its situation was so dire that it would disappear at some point in the not too distant future. This in fact has not happened. The most recent census statistics for Korea show that 30 or more per-cent of the population claims adherence to one of the branches of Buddhism. Anyone who is familiar with Buddhism in Japan and Korea, who has visited their temples and monasteries, will be familiar with the fact that Korean Buddhism, traditional monastic Buddhism, is more vigorous and active than its Japanese counterpart. What factors are to account for this volte face in the condition of Buddhism in Korea? Although the dramatic and rapid growth of Christianity in Korea has become the subject of much academic and popular discourse, the reversal in the fortunes of Korean Buddhism has gone practically unobserved by the academic world.

In examining the recent century of Buddhism in Korea, I have discerned three principal factors which have been at work - 1) assistance from the Japanese colonial government the Government-General of Chosen, 2) a reform movement for the revival of monastic Buddhism, and 3) the development and growth of lay Buddhism and lay Buddhist movements. The Japanese colonial regime was clearly worried about the numbers of Protestant Christians involved in patriotic and nationalistic movements and by the continued growth of the Protestant Christian community. It became a policy of the colonial government to promote Buddhism as a countervailing force to the growth of Protestantism and Christianity in general. Various measures were undertaken including the institutional reorganisation of the Buddhist 'church' to regularise and standardise bureaucratic procedures. Aside from the proclaimed purpose of cleansing organised Buddhism, these institutional reforms had the two-fold effect of making it easier for the regime to control the Buddhist community, and to make it comparable to Buddhism in Japan, thus creating greater homogeneity throughout the empire. To ensure that

the Buddhist 'church' had financial and capital security vis-a-vis Protestant Christianity, the colonial government gave large tracts of lands to the monasteries, ensuring that these communities remained wealthy down to the present day. These two factors alone, institutional re-organisation and the donation of significant tracts of land, regenerated institutional Buddhism so that it was able to reclaim a physical state which it had not possessed possibly since the fifteenth century. Japanese colonial support of Buddhism was not only at the institutional or organisational level. Many of the Buddhist movements and institutions which were prominent in the push for the 'modernisation' of the religion had the overt or covert financial support of the colonial regime. For example, many of the Buddhist magazines and journals of that era, including those associated with the nationalistic and modernising monk Manhae, were funded by the Japanese colonial government.

The factor of the support of the colonial government alone would not, and can not, explain the sustained revival of Buddhism in Korea. The revival of Buddhism is the result principally of two factors internal to Korean Buddhism, the revival of orthodox monastic Buddhism, and the appearance of lay movements. The purification and revival of monastic discipline, practice and the intellectual study of the Buddhist doctrines can be attributed to the efforts of Kyongho. Although one can talk at great length about what he did to revive Buddhist monastic life, and however important monastic life is to an understanding of traditional Buddhism, the revival of Buddhism in Korea I feel is principally due to the emergence of lay movements beginning from the second decade of this century. The influence of Protestant Christianity is to be found here particularly. One of the major differences between the Protestant and Roman Catholic forms of Christianity is the emphasis which is placed on the work of the laity in administering the churches and carrying out the ministry of the Church. Protestant churches are essentially lay-run institutions. However important the ministers are in the scheme of things, deacons, elders, wardens, stewards - whatever the lay leadership is called - play an essential role in the life and ministry of the church. In addition, para-church institutions, related or unrelated to individual denominations, such as the Young Men's Christian Association have grown up to provide both Christian fellowship and to act as a means for evangelism. It was the idea of the 'laity' which seems to have most inspired the Korean Buddhists in the early part of this century. From the second decade onwards, the history of Buddhism in Korea is filled with the creation of various Buddhist youth movements and lay groups, and holding of Buddhist lay conferences. These developments testify to the emergence of an organised lay Buddhist community which existed separately from the monastic communities which used to be the centres of Buddhist practice and life. As lay Christianity had meant that the focus of Christian life was in contemporary society, so too lay Buddhism meant that the focus of Buddhist life was taken out of the confines of the monastery and into contemporary society. With the stabilisation and regularisation of institutional monastic Buddhism, early twentieth century Korean Buddhists must have sensed an element of competition with the rapidly developing new religion, Protestant Christianity. This sense of competition would have been a stimulus which caused them to consciously or unconsciously model their programme for the advance of Buddhism along the lines of the two most distinctive features of Protestant Christianity, the idea of the 'laity' and lay movements.

The extent to which monastic and lay Buddhism has been influenced by Protestantism is quite striking. The development of the laity as the principal bearers of Buddhism, is an obvious example, but specific examples of influence on religious practice can also be described. The use of hymns with tunes borrowed from Protestantism, prayers used in daily life (before meals) which are common Christian practice may be cited along with youth and high school student associations meeting under the tutelage of a monk at a time on a Saturday afternoon which was

precisely the time for local Christian youth meetings. Protestant Christian models continue to provide a source of inspiration for the Buddhist leadership, perhaps the most notable of which was the creation of the Buddhist Broadcasting System set up in the early 1990s along the lines of the Christian Broadcasting System. Thus, not only was the movement for a 'modernised' Buddhism stimulated by the presence of a strong laity and vigorous lay movements within Protestant Christianity, many of the very forms of 'modernised' Buddhist spiritual practice and Buddhist evangelism can also be shown to have been derived from or modelled on Protestant Christian practice.

#### IV. Protestant Christian Impact on the New Religions

The first modern syncretistic religion in Korea is Ch'ondo-gyo, which was founded in the 1860s as the result of a vision which the founder Ch'oi Che-u had of the Ruler of Heaven. It emerged as an important nationalistic and nativistic movement before the collapse of the Choson state and during the Japanese colonial period. Originally called Tonghak, from its inception the religion contained certain elements of belief and practice which were a response to or a borrowing from Christianity. It is not surprising that nativistic types of syncretistic movements should emerge promising a revival in national fortunes at a time of national crisis. Internal corruption and the threat of invasion by foreign powers made nineteenth century Korea a fertile ground for nativistic movements. For the intelligentsia of the time, among whom Ch'oi Che-u has to be counted, growth of the proscribed religion Roman Catholicism must have been seen to be an aspect of foreign imperial power and a threat to the Confucian traditions of the nation. When Ch'oi was brought before a magistrate to explain his, by Confucian standards, heterodox teaching, he defended himself by saying that what he taught was not sohak (Western learning = Roman Catholicism) but jonghak (eastern learning). So from the beginning of the modern era, new religious movements in Korea were consciously or unconsciously comparing and contrasting themselves with the emergent Christian movement. Even at this early stage of the development of Christianity, a certain element of borrowing by Tonghak from Christianity can be demonstrated. Although the great being who revealed himself to Ch'oi Che-u was usually called Sangje (Shang-ti, Ruler on High), a usage deriving from ancient China, this being was sometimes called Ch'onju or Ruler of Heaven, the Roman Catholic term for God in China and Korea. Although not a major influence on the doctrinal teaching of the sect, the adoption of this term shows that the influence of Christianity on Tonghak in its early stages was not just negative stimulation.

The effect of Protestantism on Tonghak/Ch'ondo-gyo was even greater, and can be shown both on the architecture of the sect, and on its religious practice. In Chosen-no ruiji shukyo [The Pseudo-religions of Korea], the survey of popular religion in Korea published by the Government-General in 1935, the architecture of the Ch'ondo-gyo places of worship shows a strong similarity to Protestant Christian churches of the same period. The central ecclesiastical building of Ch'ondo-gyo, although built in a Japanised version of Baroque architecture for decoration, resembles a Protestant church in both its architectural elevations, and in its interior layout. The plan for the main room in the central hall in particular is laid out like a Korean Protestant church including a large raised and recessed area at the back where the principal celebrant or ceremonial leader would conduct the ritual. The atmosphere of the building is similar to many Korean Protestant churches of the time. The ritual centre in P'yongyang in northern Korea is even more clearly modelled on Protestant lines. The exterior of the building with its sharp rectangular shape is indistinguishable from any provincial Protestant church of the time. The picture of the interior showing the congregation seated on the floor also



demonstrates another feature which must be a relic of missionary influence - the leaders of the ritual are seated on Western-style chairs and speak from a podium. This usage of ritual space is identical to a Protestant usage which began with the way churches such as Chong-dong First Methodist Church in Seoul were used from the time of the first missionaries - the congregation sat cross-legged on the floor, the celebrants sat in chairs. Further Christian, if not Protestant, influence can be seen on the architectural form of the central 'church' of a break-off of the Ch'ondo-gyo movement, the Sich'on-gyo sect, which is closely modelled on the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Myong-dong, Seoul.

Ch'ondo-gyo ritual usage follows a Christian, and particularly a Protestant Christian, pattern. Services are now held on a Sunday, use hymns quite often set to music drawn from Protestant hymnals, have periods of private prayer, and include an exposition of the Ch'ondo-gyo scripture, the Tonggyong taejon. As is obvious from the list of ritual features given above, Ch'ondo-gyo possesses both a canonical scripture and a book of hymns which is used for the purposes of worship and study. The architecture of the sect's ritual buildings, the form of its rituals, and the form of its ritual materials by the first third of the twentieth century followed a Protestant pattern. Thus, the influence of Protestantism on Ch'ondo-gyo and other new religions was as a model or a pattern for practice, and this in spite of the fact that many of these groups, and in particular Ch'ondo-gyo, possessed a highly nationalistic and nativistic system of beliefs.

This influence on the formal, overt aspects of the new religions of Korea does not seem to have been translated into significant influence on the doctrines, teachings, and beliefs of these new sects. Chungsan-gyo, which developed at the very end of the last century, is an amalgamen of many different religious traditions and is markedly different in one respect from many of the new religious movements of the past century. Unlike most of the new religions in which the founder claims to have had a vision or experience with a celestial being, the founder of Chungsan-gyo, Kang Ilsun, claimed to be the Ruler of the Nine Heavens, the supreme being. This concept parallels the essential Christian teaching of the Incarnation of Christ, and may reflect either Catholic or Protestant teaching on the subject. The idea of incarnation propounded in Chungsan-gyo is linked to a messianic idea that Kang had descended to earth to restore the affairs of the world, and to restore Korea to its rightful position in the world. Although this doctrinal element is probably derived from Christianity, it is not described in Christian theological terms, but is expressed in nativistic terms. Thus, in the early stages of the growth of these new religions, influence was at the level of the adoption of formal elements without taking on the major theological views of Christianity.

By mid-twentieth century, Protestant Christianity had become an even more potent religious force within Korean society. The Chosen-no riuji shukyo divides the new religions of the first third of the twentieth century into six types - the Tonghak tradition, the Chungsan tradition, the Buddhist tradition, the Confucian tradition, traditions worshipping a particular spirit, and a miscellaneous group. In the 1930s, there were no new religious movements which claimed to be a Christian denomination or which had a significant number of beliefs which were closely patterned after Protestant Christianity. By the 1950s, this situation had changed dramatically. The new religions which emerged or became strong after Korean liberation from Japanese rule were Christian new religions. In fact these groups so closely resemble orthodox Christian groups that in theological terms they must be called heresies. Typical among these many groups are the Chondo-gwan Church (Olive Tree Church) and the Unification Church. The founders of both of these groups had at one time been members of a Presbyterian church, and so had a Protestant Christian background. The founder of the Chondo-gwan (evangelistic hall)

movement, Pak Taeson, had been an elder in a Presbyterian church in Seoul, and claimed that his hands had the power to heal through the massaging of a diseased person. The movement claims to be a Christian church, and its buildings resemble Protestant churches which are easily distinguished because of the large red crosses used to adorn the tower over the entrance to the building. The form of worship, the terms used to talk about their beliefs, and the beliefs themselves are all Christian. Although it does seem to have a strong basis in folk religion, with an emphasis on a belief in magical healing, all of the formal structures of the group are modelled on Christian practices. This is an important change from earlier in the century when only certain aspects of a new religion could be shown to have a Christian origin. Now, whole religious movements resemble a Christian denomination.

This aspect of similarity to a Christian denomination becomes even stronger when we examine the Unification Church. It not only claims to be a church, it claims to be the fulfillment of Christ's ministry on earth. The full name of the sect is the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, which indicates that the sect claims to be the means by which the unfinished work of Christianity will be brought to completion. The central teaching of the sect is that Christ was unable to fulfill his ministry on earth, the spiritual and physical salvation of mankind. Instead, his early death only provided spiritual salvation. Another One would have to come to bring physical salvation, who is called the Lord of the Second Advent. This group not only claims to be a Christian denomination; it claims to be the true fulfillment of all Christian groups.

Here, the only difference between orthodox Christian churches and these Christian-based syncretic groups is in the Christology of the sects. Otherwise, it is not immediately apparent that one of these sects is not a church. In more recent years other new religious groups have emerged which are usually Christian in nature. In the early 1990s, for example, there was a group whose leader had proclaimed the end of the world on a particular date and who urged all his followers to gather together. He collected large sums of money and was arrested when he attempted to leave Korea. Other than the fact that groups such as this have been created in Korea, they are in no wise different from similar types of groups which have emerged during the same period in North America. Thus, by the end of the twentieth century, the influence of Protestant Christianity on the creation of new religions was not simply at the level of stimulus or model, but was actually providing substantial elements of the theology of these sects. This influence at the level of belief demonstrates both that Protestantism had become fully implanted in the soil of the culture of Korea, and that it was the principal dynamic force in the religious culture of Korea by the end of the century.

#### V. Protestant Christian Contention with the Other Traditions

It has been my view that Protestantism during the first two-thirds of this century has been the most dynamic force within the religious culture of Korea which is evidenced both by the rapid numerical growth in church membership, and - which is the focus of this paper - by the extent to which Protestant Christianity has influenced the development of the pre-existent religious traditions of the nation. This influence may have been at the level of competitive stimulation to cause the other tradition to grow or revive as was the case with Roman Catholicism and Buddhism, or at the level of providing a model for outreach and religious practice as was the case with Buddhism and Ch'ondo-gyo, or at the level of providing religious concepts as is the case with the contemporary new religions. From the beginning of the process of the implantation of Protestant Christianity, the influence of Protestantism on Korean religious culture has been noticeable and has increased towards the end of the century. To return to the

model of the emplantation of missionary religions which I outlined at the beginning of this paper, Protestantism had 'penetrated' Korean culture by the middle of this century and has now entered into the third phase of the process of emplantation - contention with the other religious traditions. Buddhism, in my view, is the principal religious tradition with which Protestantism will be in contention. This is so because largely there has been an ecumenical rapprochement with Roman Catholicism (except for the most fundamentalist of the Protestant bodies), and because the new religions tend to follow Protestant practice. Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, there has been a noticeable increase in the tensions between 'Protestantism' and 'Buddhism'. There have been several accusations of 'Christian' (= Protestant ?) harrassment of Buddhist ceremonies and the destruction of Buddhist religious buildings. Whatever the truth of these accusations is, they point to the fact of the increased tensions between 'Christianity' as a perceived monolithic religious institution, and 'Buddhism' as a similar monolithic entity. Further examples of the perceived competition between these two groups may be seen in 1) the extent to which the principal Buddhist order, the Chogye-jong, and other groups have engaged in extensive programmes of local 'evangelism', and have conducted well-planned programmes of overseas missions to spread the teachings of Buddhism in both North America and Europe, and 2) the creation of such institutions as the Buddhist Broadcasting System both to increase Buddhist knowledge amongst the laity and as a means to extend the membership of the Buddhist community. Based upon historical precedent, the model for emplantation would predict that there are three possible outcomes in this process of contention - 1) the significant extension of the membership of Protestant groups so that Protestantism achieves a state of numerical and spiritual dominance over the religious culture of the nation, or 2) that Protestantism and Buddhism will both reach the greatest extent of their numerical expansion and achieve a state of numerical and spiritual equilibrium between themselves, or 3) that Protestantism will lose its evangelical momentum and begin a period of numerical (if not spiritual) decline which will result in it stabilising at a position of subordination to Buddhism. This third condition would be a strong indicator that Protestantism had lost its momentum and was no longer the most dynamic religious factor in Korean culture. It is hard to judge what the ultimate historical outcome will be, but it is worth noting that Buddhism is vigorously pursuing a policy similar to 'church growth', and that since the late 1980s, Protestantism has ceased to grow in per-centage terms within the national population. This may be an indication that Protestantism has reached the upper limit of its growth potential. On the other hand, Roman Catholicism continues to grow, which may mean that although in this era, Protestantism has ceased to grow, Christianity has not. What lies ahead in the future is unclear and can only be discerned after the next decade. As was mentioned at the outset, the model of emplantation can not predict the future but only help to explain why certain historical developments occurred in the way in which they did.



# CULTURAL ENCOUNTER: THE IMPACT OF KOREAN PROTESTANTISM ON THE OTHER RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

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## I Korean Christian History and the Theory of Emplantation

Beginning more than two hundred years ago, the cultural encounter between Christianity and Korea has resulted in the creation of a Christian community which accounts for some twenty per-cent of the national population of the Republic of Korea. In particular, since the advent of Protestant Christianity in Korea there has been substantial Christian impact on or involvement with education, medicine, social policy in all its aspects, and political affairs. Missionary and local Christian involvement in the creation of schools, hospitals, the independence movement, the movement for democracy, fair treatment for workers, equality for women and other important social and political issues are well known and have been discussed from various angles by many people. During the past century, Christian involvement in contemporary affairs attests to the dynamism and vigour of Christianity as a newly emerged element of Korean society. Protestant Christianity, in particular, for various cultural, social and political reasons was able to establish itself rapidly in Korean culture from the end of the nineteenth century and from that position of establishment engage influentially in contemporary affairs. One aspect of this engagement with and influence on Korean culture during the past hundred years, however, has been neglected, namely the impact which Protestant Christianity has had on the other religious traditions of Korea, including Roman Catholicism. In this paper, I propose to examine the ways in which Protestantism has had a formal or informal influence on the other religious traditions of Korea by viewing the historical development of Christianity as an anthropological process which I call emplantation.

In examining the history of religion in China and Korea, and looking at the question of the transmission of foreign religious traditions in particular, I developed a theoretical framework to describe this process of religious diffusion. I determined that a religion which derived from an alien cultural context when transmitted to a new cultural context had to undergo a three stage process of development before it could be said to have become emplanted in the cultural soil of the new culture. These stages were Contact and Explication, Penetration, and Expansion. Success at a prior stage was important for further development in a later stage. In the first stage, exponents of the new religion, formal or informal missionaries, are principally concerned with the primary explication of the tenets of their faith in terms which are comprehensible in the cultural norms of the time. In the second stage, it is recognised that the new religion has become established, at however small a numerical level, as a feature of the host culture and society. In the third stage, the new religion has become a major feature of the culture and society and enters into a stage of contention with other religious traditions which may lead either to a state of pre-eminence over the other traditions or a state of complementary

equilibrium. The model, however, makes no attempt to predict what the whole life of the new religion may be within the greater cultural history of the society, but only states that any new religious tradition coming from outside the indigenous cultural context must pass successfully through these three stages to become implanted in the cultural soil of the society, to achieve a state of pre-eminence or equilibrium. My research on Protestant church history showed that Protestantism had achieved a state of penetration in Korean culture by the middle of the twentieth century, and has now entered into a stage of growth and contention with the other religious traditions. In this paper, I argue that both in its early and its later stages of development in this century, Protestant Christianity has proved to be the most dynamic religious force within modern Korean religious culture and has had a significant impact, formally and informally on the growth and development of the other religious traditions.

The influence which Protestantism has exercised on the other religious traditions of Korea are three-fold - by competitive stimulation, by emulation and modelling, and by the acceptance of or utilisation of distinctly Christian religious concepts. By competitive stimulation, I refer to the rapid numerical growth of Protestant Christianity acting as a stimulus to other religious groups to create proselytisation movements to significantly increase the size of their membership. By emulation and modelling, I refer to the reaction by leaders and significant figures in non-Protestant Christian religious groups taking the forms of Protestant worship, activities, and evangelistic movements as models for their own religious practice and proselytisation. The third form of Protestant influence on the other religious traditions of Korea refers to the extent to which particularly Christian or indeed Protestant theological concepts have been adopted by other religious groups. This influence may have been absorbed at a purely formal, and superficial level, or at a deep, inner level restructuring or reformulating beliefs. Although all three of these forms of religious influence may be shown to have affected the non-Protestant religious traditions, not all of these traditions have been influenced by Protestantism in all three ways.

## II. Protestant Christian Impact on Roman Catholicism

As is well known, the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea is considerably longer than Protestant history, and was characterised for nearly half of its time by severe governmental repression of the movement as a socially and politically subversive body. The length and severity of the suppression of the Church had two inter-related effects. Firstly, beginning with the first major suppression of the Church in 1800, the character of the Church changed from being principally the religious practice of certain members of the elite sector of society to being a religious movement amongst the poorest and most rejected members of late Choson society. Secondly, the severity and length of the period of the formal suppression of the Church created a 'ghetto' mentality amongst the membership, a deeply ingrained sense of the need to hide or cover up their adherence to the proscribed religion. Consequently, many early Catholics physically hid themselves by fleeing to remote mountainous parts of the peninsula, or hid themselves by disguising their true class status and religious beliefs by becoming a member of one of the despised orders of society.

The first seventy-five years of Catholic history, dominated by persecution and the fear of persecution, had a long term influence on the development of the Church which lasted well into the middle of the twentieth century. Although, the Roman Catholic Church in Korea, once freed of the fear of governmental suppression did conduct an active campaign of missions and evangelism, significant numerical growth did not take place until the late 1950s and the early 1960s. From the 1890s onwards, records show both a steady increase in the membership of or

adherency to the Church, and the absence of any significant periods of decline in membership. Notwithstanding these continued increases in adherency, the per-centage representation within the national population remain consistent from 1914 to the late 1950s at 0.5 to 0.6 per-cent. This contrasts with Protestant figures during the same period which, while giving evidence to at least two periods of significant disaffection, also show that Protestantism more than tripled its per-centage representation within the national population from 1.2 per-cent to 3.7 per-cent. By the end of the next decade, this figure had nearly doubled to 6.0 per-cent. To use my anthropological terms of analysis, the Protestant churches in Koera had achieved a position of penetration within Korean culture and society some time in the early 1950s from which point onward the very significant period of per-centage growth within the national population began which lasted well into the 1980s. It was during this period of remarkable Protestant growth that the Roman Catholic Church for the first time began to show both numerical and per-centage growth. These two facts are closely related in my view.

One factor which I believe hindered the per-centage growth of the Roman Catholic Church was what I have referred to as a 'ghetto' mentality. A strong and long-lasting negative effect of the three-quarters of a century of persecution was the dampening of evangelistic efforts. For some time, there remained a psychological fear of or hesitancy towards open expression of adherency to Catholic Christianity and a strong reticence to widely share the 'Good News'. Although a decision ultimately taken in the Vatican, one reason for the acquiescence by the leadership in the acceptance of Shinto rituals during the colonial period as non-religious rites was the fear of the onset of another era of persecution. Principally because of this ethos within the Catholic community, gains in membership were not significant enough to become gains in the total representation in the national population.

By the 1960s, three factors came together which collectively created within the Catholic community a fervour for evangelism which has continued down to today. In fact recent statistics show that the Roman Catholic Church in Korea is the only Korean Christian denomination which is continuing to make per-centage gains within the national population. The three factors are 1) the visibility and acceptability of Protestant Christianity, 2) the effect of the teachings of the Second Vatican Council, and 3) the onset of rapid urbanization and industrialisation. The significantly increased size of the Protestant Christian community in the 1950s, Protestantism's clear relationship to many patriotic issues, and the dominance of the political scene by Protestant Christians (however one evaluates their character, and the effect of their work) made Christianity not only distinctly visible in the nation, but acceptable in a very positive sense. This factor must have given many Catholics the sense that it was alright to be Christian, and to want to express and share their faith. At the same time that this idea was being accepted, the Second Vatican Council dramatically changed the Tridentine Catholic view of the world, especially the Church's view of other Christian denominations and other religions. The views of the Second Council led to a greater ecumenicity and a desire to be involved together with other Christian groups. These two events came together to create an ethos which made significant national evangelism an acceptable and desirable goal. Concurrently, the nation began its race to become one of the major industrial states of the world, changing the nation from an essentially rural to an urban, from an agricultural to an industrial nation. This meant massive dislocation of the population from a rural to an urban setting, and impoverishment of large parts of the population. The dispossessed urban proletariat provided a major field for national evangelism for the Roman Catholic Church as it did also for the Protestant churches. I would only point out in passing that to the shame of many of the Protestant churches, the Catholic Church has never lost the memory of its origins amongst the dispossessed members of

society and has made evangelism and ministry amongst the poor a primary focus of the work of the Church.

From my anthropological perspective, the influence of Protestantism on Catholicism has been principally at the level of competitive stimulation, the sense that if members of one branch of Christianity could openly and vigorously work to expand their membership, Catholics could too. One might also argue that developments in style of worship - instrumental and vocal music, alternatives to the traditional emphasis on the Mass, approaches to evangelism - owe more to Protestant models than Catholic origins. None the less, the principal Protestant influence on Roman Catholicism in my view has been stimulus through example, which in turn has led to the significant and ongoing growth of the Church.

### III. Protestant Christian Impact on Buddhism

Buddhism, established in the Korean peninsula since the era of the Three Kingdoms, had by the end of the Choson period begun to atrophy. This was due largely to the general policy for the suppression and control of Buddhism which had been implemented from the beginning of the dynasty in order to eliminate heterodox teachings and to create a thoroughly Confucian state and society. At several points during the long history of the Choson state, suppression of Buddhism was replaced by fervent attempts to eradicate it entirely. The effect of five hundred years of an anti-Buddhist policy was the general degradation in the standards of monastic discipline and the knowledge of Buddhist teachings, and the effective elimination of intellectual leadership from within the Buddhist community. Whereas under the Koryo period the leadership of the Buddhist community came from the elite sector of society, in the Choson period Buddhist monks were grouped together with butchers and prostitutes in the 'untouchable' class. Sympathetic foreign observers of Korean Buddhism at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries felt that its situation was so dire that it would disappear at some point in the not too distant future. This in fact has not happened. The most recent census statistics for Korea show that 30 or more per-cent of the population claims adherence to one of the branches of Buddhism. Anyone who is familiar with Buddhism in Japan and Korea, who has visited their temples and monasteries, will be familiar with the fact that Korean Buddhism, traditional monastic Buddhism, is more vigorous and active than its Japanese counterpart. What factors are to account for this *volte face* in the condition of Buddhism in Korea? Although the dramatic and rapid growth of Christianity in Korea has become the subject of much academic and popular discourse, the reversal in the fortunes of Korean Buddhism has gone practically unobserved by the academic world.

In examining the recent century of Buddhism in Korea, I have discerned three principal factors which have been at work - 1) assistance from the Japanese colonial government the Government-General of Chosen, 2) a reform movement for the revival of monastic Buddhism, and 3) the development and growth of lay Buddhism and lay Buddhist movements. The Japanese colonial regime was clearly worried about the numbers of Protestant Christians involved in patriotic and nationalistic movements and by the continued growth of the Protestant Christian community. It became a policy of the colonial government to promote Buddhism as a countervailing force to the growth of Protestantism and Christianity in general. Various measures were undertaken including the institutional reorganisation of the Buddhist 'church' to regularise and standardise bureaucratic procedures. Aside from the proclaimed purpose of cleansing organised Buddhism, these institutional reforms had the two-fold effect of making it easier for the regime to control the Buddhist community, and to make it comparable to Buddhism in Japan, thus creating greater homogeneity throughout the empire. To ensure that



the Buddhist 'church' had financial and capital security vis-a-vis Protestant Christianity, the colonial government gave large tracts of lands to the monasteries, ensuring that these communities remained wealthy down to the present day. These two factors alone, institutional re-organisation and the donation of significant tracts of land, regenerated institutional Buddhism so that it was able to reclaim a physical state which it had not possessed possibly since the fifteenth century. Japanese colonial support of Buddhism was not only at the institutional or organisational level. Many of the Buddhist movements and institutions which were prominent in the push for the 'modernisation' of the religion had the overt or covert financial support of the colonial regime. For example, many of the Buddhist magazines and journals of that era, including those associated with the nationalistic and modernising monk Manhae, were funded by the Japanese colonial government.

The factor of the support of the colonial government alone would not, and can not, explain the sustained revival of Buddhism in Korea. The revival of Buddhism is the result principally of two factors internal to Korean Buddhism, the revival of orthodox monastic Buddhism, and the appearance of lay movements. The purification and revival of monastic discipline, practice and the intellectual study of the Buddhist doctrines can be attributed to the efforts of Kyongho. Although one can talk at great length about what he did to revive Buddhist monastic life, and however important monastic life is to an understanding of traditional Buddhism, the revival of Buddhism in Korea I feel is principally due to the emergence of lay movements beginning from the second decade of this century. The influence of Protestant Christianity is to be found here particularly. One of the major differences between the Protestant and Roman Catholic forms of Christianity is the emphasis which is placed on the work of the laity in administering the churches and carrying out the ministry of the Church. Protestant churches are essentially lay-run institutions. However important the ministers are in the scheme of things, deacons, elders, wardens, stewards - whatever the lay leadership is called - play an essential role in the life and ministry of the church. In addition, para-church institutions, related or unrelated to individual denominations, such as the Young Men's Christian Association have grown up to provide both Christian fellowship and to act as a means for evangelism. It was the idea of the 'laity' which seems to have most inspired the Korean Buddhists in the early part of this century. From the second decade onwards, the history of Buddhism in Korea is filled with the creation of various Buddhist youth movements and lay groups, and holding of Buddhist lay conferences. These developments testify to the emergence of an organised lay Buddhist community which existed separately from the monastic communities which used to be the centres of Buddhist practice and life. As lay Christianity had meant that the focus of Christian life was in contemporary society, so too lay Buddhism meant that the focus of Buddhist life was taken out of the confines of the monastery and into contemporary society. With the stabilisation and regularisation of institutional monastic Buddhism, early twentieth century Korean Buddhists must have sensed an element of competition with the rapidly developing new religion, Protestant Christianity. This sense of competition would have been a stimulus which caused them to consciously or unconsciously model their programme for the advance of Buddhism along the lines of the two most distinctive features of Protestant Christianity, the idea of the 'laity' and lay movements.

The extent to which monastic and lay Buddhism has been influenced by Protestantism is quite striking. The development of the laity as the principal bearers of Buddhism, is an obvious example, but specific examples of influence on religious practice can also be described. The use of hymns with tunes borrowed from Protestantism, prayers used in daily life (before meals) which are common Christian practice may be cited along with youth and high school student associations meeting under the tutelage of a monk at a time on a Saturday afternoon which was

precisely the time for local Christian youth meetings. Protestant Christian models continue to provide a source of inspiration for the Buddhist leadership, perhaps the most notable of which was the creation of the Buddhist Broadcasting System set up in the early 1990s along the lines of the Christian Broadcasting System. Thus, not only was the movement for a 'modernised' Buddhism stimulated by the presence of a strong laity and vigorous lay movements within Protestant Christianity, many of the very forms of 'modernised' Buddhist spiritual practice and Buddhist evangelism can also be shown to have been derived from or modelled on Protestant Christian practice.

#### IV. Protestant Christian Impact on the New Religions

The first modern syncretistic religion in Korea is Ch'ondo-gyo, which was founded in the 1860s as the result of a vision which the founder Ch'oi Che-u had of the Ruler of Heaven. It emerged as an important nationalistic and nativistic movement before the collapse of the Choson state and during the Japanese colonial period. Originally called Tonghak, from its inception the religion contained certain elements of belief and practice which were a response to or a borrowing from Christianity. It is not surprising that nativistic types of syncretistic movements should emerge promising a revival in national fortunes at a time of national crisis. Internal corruption and the threat of invasion by foreign powers made nineteenth century Korea a fertile ground for nativistic movements. For the intelligentsia of the time, among whom Ch'oi Che-u has to be counted, growth of the proscribed religion Roman Catholicism must have been seen to be an aspect of foreign imperial power and a threat to the Confucian traditions of the nation. When Ch'oi was brought before a magistrate to explain his, by Confucian standards, heterodox teaching, he defended himself by saying that what he taught was not *sohak* (Western learning = Roman Catholicism) but *tonghak* (eastern learning). So from the beginning of the modern era, new religious movements in Korea were consciously or unconsciously comparing and contrasting themselves with the emergent Christian movement. Even at this early stage of the development of Christianity, a certain element of borrowing by Tonghak from Christianity can be demonstrated. Although the great being who revealed himself to Ch'oi Che-u was usually called Sangje (Shang-ti, Ruler on High), a usage deriving from ancient China, this being was sometimes called Ch'onju or Ruler of Heaven, the Roman Catholic term for God in China and Korea. Although not a major influence on the doctrinal teaching of the sect, the adoption of this term shows that the influence of Christianity on Tonghak in its early stages was not just negative stimulation.

The effect of Protestantism on Tonghak/Ch'ondo-gyo was even greater, and can be shown both on the architecture of the sect, and on its religious practice. In *Chosen-no ruiji shukyo* [The Pseudo-religions of Korea], the survey of popular religion in Korea published by the Government-General in 1935, the architecture of the Ch'ondo-gyo places of worship shows a strong similarity to Protestant Christian churches of the same period. The central ecclesiastical building of Ch'ondo-gyo, although built in a Japanised version of Baroque architecture for decoration, resembles a Protestant church in both its architectural elevations, and in its interior layout. The plan for the main room in the central hall in particular is laid out like a Korean Protestant church including a large raised and recessed area at the back where the principal celebrant or ceremonial leader would conduct the ritual. The atmosphere of the building is similar to many Korean Protestant churches of the time. The ritual centre in P'yongyang in northern Korea is even more clearly modelled on Protestant lines. The exterior of the building with its sharp rectangular shape is indistinguishable from any provincial Protestant church of the time. The picture of the interior showing the congregation seated on the floor also

demonstrates another feature which must be a relic of missionary influence - the leaders of the ritual are seated on Western-style chairs and speak from a podium. This usage of ritual space is identical to a Protestant usage which began with the way churches such as Chong-dong First Methodist Church in Seoul were used from the time of the first missionaries - the congregation sat cross-legged on the floor, the celebrants sat in chairs. Further Christian, if not Protestant, influence can be seen on the architectural form of the central 'church' of a break-off of the Ch'ondo-gyo movement, the Sich'on-gyo sect, which is closely modelled on the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Myong-dong, Seoul.

Ch'ondo-gyo ritual usage follows a Christian, and particularly a Protestant Christian, pattern. Services are now held on a Sunday, use hymns quite often set to music drawn from Protestant hymnals, have periods of private prayer, and include an exposition of the Ch'ondo-gyo scripture, the Tonggyong taejon. As is obvious from the list of ritual features given above, Ch'ondo-gyo possesses both a canonical scripture and a book of hymns which is used for the purposes of worship and study. The architecture of the sect's ritual buildings, the form of its rituals, and the form of its ritual materials by the first third of the twentieth century followed a Protestant pattern. Thus, the influence of Protestantism on Ch'ondo-gyo and other new religions was as a model or a pattern for practice, and this in spite of the fact that many of these groups, and in particular Ch'ondo-gyo, possessed a highly nationalistic and nativistic system of beliefs.

This influence on the formal, overt aspects of the new religions of Korea does not seem to have been translated into significant influence on the doctrines, teachings, and beliefs of these new sects. Chungsan-gyo, which developed at the very end of the last century, is an amalgam of many different religious traditions and is markedly different in one respect from many of the new religious movements of the past century. Unlike most of the new religions in which the founder claims to have had a vision or experience with a celestial being, the founder of Chungsan-gyo, Kang IIsun, claimed to be the Ruler of the Nine Heavens, the supreme being. This concept parallels the essential Christian teaching of the Incarnation of Christ, and may reflect either Catholic or Protestant teaching on the subject. The idea of incarnation propounded in Chungsan-gyo is linked to a messianic idea that Kang had descended to earth to restore the affairs of the world, and to restore Korea to its rightful position in the world. Although this doctrinal element is probably derived from Christianity, it is not described in Christian theological terms, but is expressed in nativistic terms. Thus, in the early stages of the growth of these new religions, influence was at the level of the adoption of formal elements without taking on the major theological views of Christianity.

By mid-twentieth century, Protestant Christianity had become an even more potent religious force within Korean society. The Chosen-no riuji shukyo divides the new religions of the first third of the twentieth century into six types - the Tonghak tradition, the Chungsan tradition, the Buddhist tradition, the Confucian tradition, traditions worshipping a particular spirit, and a miscellaneous group. In the 1930s, there were no new religious movements which claimed to be a Christian denomination or which had a significant number of beliefs which were closely patterned after Protestant Christianity. By the 1950s, this situation had changed dramatically. The new religions which emerged or became strong after Korean liberation from Japanese rule were Christian new religions. In fact these groups so closely resemble orthodox Christian groups that in theological terms they must be called heresies. Typical among these many groups are the Chondo-gwan Church (Olive Tree Church) and the Unification Church. The founders of both of these groups had at one time been members of a Presbyterian church, and so had a Protestant Christian background. The founder of the Chondo-gwan (evangelistic hall)

movement, Pak Taeson, had been an elder in a Presbyterian church in Seoul, and claimed that his hands had the power to heal through the massaging of a diseased person. The movement claims to be a Christian church, and its buildings resemble Protestant churches which are easily distinguished because of the large red crosses used to adorn the tower over the entrance to the building. The form of worship, the terms used to talk about their beliefs, and the beliefs themselves are all Christian. Although it does seem to have a strong basis in folk religion, with an emphasis on a belief in magical healing, all of the formal structures of the group are modelled on Christian practices. This is an important change from earlier in the century when only certain aspects of a new religion could be shown to have a Christian origin. Now, whole religious movements resemble a Christian denomination.

This aspect of similarity to a Christian denomination becomes even stronger when we examine the Unification Church. It not only claims to be a church, it claims to be the fulfillment of Christ's ministry on earth. The full name of the sect is the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, which indicates that the sect claims to be the means by which the unfinished work of Christianity will be brought to completion. The central teaching of the sect is that Christ was unable to fulfill his ministry on earth, the spiritual and physical salvation of mankind. Instead, his early death only provided spiritual salvation. Another One would have to come to bring physical salvation, who is called the Lord of the Second Advent. This group not only claims to be a Christian denomination; it claims to be the true fulfillment of all Christian groups.

Here, the only difference between orthodox Christian churches and these Christian-based syncretic groups is in the Christology of the sects. Otherwise, it is not immediately apparent that one of these sects is not a church. In more recent years other new religious groups have emerged which are usually Christian in nature. In the early 1990s, for example, there was a group whose leader had proclaimed the end of the world on a particular date and who urged all his followers to gather together. He collected large sums of money and was arrested when he attempted to leave Korea. Other than the fact that groups such as this have been created in Korea, they are in no wise different from similar types of groups which have emerged during the same period in North America. Thus, by the end of the twentieth century, the influence of Protestant Christianity on the creation of new religions was not simply at the level of stimulus or model, but was actually providing substantial elements of the theology of these sects. This influence at the level of belief demonstrates both that Protestantism had become fully implanted in the soil of the culture of Korea, and that it was the principal dynamic force in the religious culture of Korea by the end of the century.

V. Protestant Christian Contention with the Other Traditions

It has been my view that Protestantism during the first two-thirds of this century has been the most dynamic force within the religious culture of Korea which is evidenced both by the rapid numerical growth in church membership, and - which is the focus of this paper - by the extent to which Protestant Christianity has influenced the development of the pre-existent religious traditions of the nation. This influence may have been at the level of competitive stimulation to cause the other tradition to grow or revive as was the case with Roman Catholicism and Buddhism, or at the level of providing a model for outreach and religious practice as was the case with Buddhism and Ch'ondogyo, or at the level of providing religious concepts as is the case with the contemporary new religions. From the beginning of the process of the implantation of Protestant Christianity, the influence of Protestantism on Korean religious culture has been noticeable and has increased towards the end of the century. To return to the

model of the emplantation of missionary religions which I outlined at the beginning of this paper, Protestantism had 'penetrated' Korean culture by the middle of this century and has now entered into the third phase of the process of emplantation - contention with the other religious traditions. Buddhism, in my view, is the principal religious tradition with which Protestantism will be in contention. This is so because largely there has been an ecumenical rapprochement with Roman Catholicism (except for the most fundamentalist of the Protestant bodies), and because the new religions tend to follow Protestant practice. Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, there has been a noticeable increase in the tensions between 'Protestantism' and 'Buddhism'. There have been several accusations of 'Christian' (= Protestant ?) harrassment of Buddhist ceremonies and the destruction of Buddhist religious buildings. Whatever the truth of these accusations is, they point to the fact of the increased tensions between 'Christianity' as a perceived monolithic religious institution, and 'Buddhism' as a similar monolithic entity. Further examples of the perceived competition between these two groups may be seen in 1) the extent to which the principal Buddhist order, the Chogye-jong, and other groups have engaged in extensive programmes of local 'evangelism', and have conducted well-planned programmes of overseas missions to spread the teachings of Buddhism in both North America and Europe, and 2) the creation of such institutions as the Buddhist Broadcasting System both to increase Buddhist knowledge amongst the laity and as a means to extend the membership of the Buddhist community. Based upon historical precedent, the model for emplantation would predict that there are three possible outcomes in this process of contention - 1) the significant extension of the membership of Protestant groups so that Protestantism achieves a state of numerical and spiritual dominance over the religious culture of the nation, or 2) that Protestantism and Buddhism will both reach the greatest extent of their numerical expansion and achieve a state of numerical and spiritual equilibrium between themselves, or 3) that Protestantism will lose its evangelical momentum and begin a period of numerical (if not spiritual) decline which will result in it stabilising at a position of subordination to Buddhism. This third condition would be a strong indicator that Protestantism had lost its momentum and was no longer the most dynamic religious factor in Korean culture. It is hard to judge what the ultimate historical outcome will be, but it is worth noting that Buddhism is vigorously pursuing a policy similar to 'church growth', and that since the late 1980s, Protestantism has ceased to grow in percentage terms within the national population. This may be an indication that Protestantism has reached the upper limit of its growth potential. On the other hand, Roman Catholicism continues to grow, which may mean that although in this era, Protestantism has ceased to grow, Christianity has not. What lies ahead in the future is unclear and can only be discerned after the next decade. As was mentioned at the outset, the model of emplantation can not predict the future but only help to explain why certain historical developments occurred in the way in which they did.

